PALESTINE

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LONDON
International Secretariat of the
LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM
and FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
1936

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THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the cabinet.

> " His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

PALESTINE

An Authoritative Survey

In November, 1935, the Arab parties had presented a memorandum to the Palestine Government calling for the establishment of democratic government, the complete cessation of Jewish immigration and the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews, following representations by an Arab Delegation to the High Commissioner that sales of land to Jews and Jewish immigration had reached such an extent as to be contrary to the promises to preserve Arab rights given in the Mandate.

When the present crisis opened last April with the disorder on the Nablus-Tulkarm road the Arab leaders called the general strike in support of the above demands. It is clear that from the outset the strike has been directed against the British Government and not against the Jews or their organisations. The problem is not a religious problem, but economic in origin, and the demands of the Arabs place the problem definitely on the political plane, as can be seen from the following telegram addressed to the League against imperialism on June 22nd:

> 65 DAYS STRIKE THE STRUGGLE IS FOR OUR NATIONAL FREEDOM AGAINST ANY SORT OF IMPERIALISM WE ARE FIGHTING WITH ALL MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL WITH YOU AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY THE BRITISH IMPERIALISM———
>
> ARAB STRIKE COMMITTEE SECRETARY
>
> AHMAD DABBAGH.

The question of the Palestine Mandate which is now confronting the British Government cannot be separated from the cognate question of the Syrian Mandate, concerning which the French Government is now negotiating with a Syrian Delegation in Paris. Syria and Palestine have for centuries formed an economic and cultural unit. To draw an artificial line between these territories can serve no useful purpose in so far as the inhabitants themselves are concerned.

Just as the Palestinian Arabs are demanding democratic government independent of British control, so the very moderate Syrian

demand to France is for a Treaty under which Syria's rights will not be inferior to those already granted by Britain to Iraq.

A Conference opened at the Quai d'Orsay on June 17th marking the beginning of negotiations for a new Treaty of Alliance between France and Syria and Lebanon as independent republics and not as mandated territories.

The position in Palestine, as Mr. Ormsby-Gore found it on succeeding Mr. Thomas as Colonial Secretary three weeks before, was that early in April the Arab leaders in Palestine had been invited to send a deputation to London in order to state their case.

The invitation was accepted, but the deputation had not been formed by April 19th when disturbances broke out, and the Arab leaders had themselves informed the High Commissioner that they did not think it would be in the public interest for the deputation to come to London.

To deal with the general strike of the Arabs, which covered non-Jewish shops, motor transport, the port workers at Jaffa, almost all Arab industrial enterprises and several municipalities, the British Government reinforced the normal garrison of Palestine, consisting of two infantry battalions, one Royal Army Service Corps Mechanical Engineers for signal purposes and the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, by six additional infantry battalions, one Royal Army Service Corps Mechanical Transport Company, two Companies of the Royal Engineers, one Company of Light Tanks, and two sections of Armoured Cars.

In addition to these very large military forces there are the Palestine police of nearly 3,000 men, of whom 850 are British, the remainder being recruited locally from Arabs and Jews in the proportion of four to one. The nucleus of this police force was recruited from the remnants of the "Black and Tans," who left such sinister memories behind them in Ireland. This force has carried on some "Black and Tan" traditions. Police dogs are being extensively used, which must be peculiarly galling to the Moslem mind.

Assisted by these very large forces, the High Commissioner has supplemented the normal powers of the Government to restore law and order, *viz.*, the Police Ordinance, the Seditious Offences Ordinance, the Press Ordinance and other laws, by new regulations made under the Palestine (Defence) Order in Council of July 23rd, 1931.

These regulations deal with firing on any member of the British forces or police, damage to property and sabotage.

The Government has further empowered itself to take possession of any premises or works essential for public supply and the life of the community. It may commandeer and control fuel stores and any articles essential for the life of the community. The police

have authority to control all road transport, including the enforcement of a system of permits to vehicles. Curfew orders may be imposed in any area. Censorship of letters, telegrams, and publications has been authorised.

The High Commissioner has been given the power of deportation, while District Commissioners may relegate any person to any part of Palestine for a year. Trading in arms and explosives has been prohibited, and the police have been given wide powers of search and arrest without warrant. Immediate collective fines may now be imposed on towns and villages, the inhabitants of which are believed to have committed or connived at crimes of violence or lawlessness. Houses from which firearms have been discharged or bombs thrown, or any houses in villages in other areas where the inhabitants have committed or abetted acts of murder, violence or intimidation, the actual offender being unknown, may be demolished without compensation.

Special courts have been constituted for the speedy trial of cases arising out of disturbances. Sentence of death may be imposed in these courts or by a British magistrate, but any death sentence has to come before the High Commissioner and can only be carried out with his personal confirmation.

The Colonial Secretary specified that the British police and the forces of the Government have been deliberately and continuously attacked. This fact seems to show that the Arab movement is directed against British imperialism rather than against the Jews.

After expressing the complete confidence of the British Government in Sir Arthur Wauchope and their appreciation of his services throughout his time as High Commissioner, and after paying tribute to the Palestine police, British, Jew and Arab, the Colonial Secretary commended the self-restraint of the Jewish population despite extreme provocation and attack.

The attitude of the Jews makes it clear that they have realised that the Arab strike, while it obviously affects their interests, is not directed against them, but against the Mandatory Government.

The following is the list of casualties officially admitted up to June 19th:

	Killed	*Injured*
Moslems	42	384
Christians	4	78
Jews	28	149

The Christian casualties include one British constable killed and three seriously injured, and five British police officers and nineteen British constables slightly injured, also five British soldiers and one Army officer and four soldiers slightly injured.

The statistics regarding arrests, trials, and convictions are as follows:

	Tried	*Convicted*
Arabs	1,823	1,206
Jews	418	328

The Colonial Secretary, who on June 11th had not given any information in reply to a question as to whether the collective fines ordinance was being administered, stated that collective fines are now being imposed on villages where arson, outrage and physical violence have been used, particularly at night, by the people of the village and where it is impossible to identify individuals.

Collective fines have actually been imposed on twenty different villages, while police posts, for which the inhabitants of villages have to pay, have been established in twenty-seven villages.

As regard detentions, Mr. Ormsby-Gore said that eighty-one Arab leaders are now detained in Sarafand Camp, 122 have been placed under police supervision in specified places, and most of them were to be taken to the Sarafand Camp.

The Importance of Palestine

Imperialist government is based on the principle of divide and rule. The internal policy of British imperialism in its colonies has been always guided by the necessity to prevent unity among the victims of its oppression; and, therefore, history shows Protestants played off against Catholics in Ireland, Mohammedans against Hindus in India, and Jews against Arabs in Palestine. In this way imperialism seeks to sidetrack attention away from the results of its own selfish policy, and to stabilise its political power by assuming the rôle of mediator between the victims of its own intrigues. When in India Mohammedan peasants rise against Hindu money-lenders and landlords, the rising is not represented as the revolt of a hungry peasantry against an intolerable economic system imposed and maintained by imperialism, but as a racial or religious conflict; when Hitler wishes to sidetrack the attention of the German people away from the evils caused by the Nazi régime he promotes pogroms of the Jews; and when in Palestine imperialism makes criminal use of Jewish immigration to further its own profits and policy and to crush further the Arab population, the consequent popular risings are misrepresented as a racial and religious conflict between the Arabs and the Jews, and the British Government hastens to assume the rôle of an innocent mediator, whose efforts at reconciliation are noble but unavailing.

Such is the policy of imperialism; but it is a policy which is failing in its effect because of the growing realisation of the subject peoples that the struggle for national independence is primarily a class struggle directed against imperialism. The present struggle in Palestine is not one between Arabs and Jews; it is a struggle against British imperialism and against its agents, the Zionist financiers and the Arab landlords.

Palestine is a small country, not larger than Wales. It has a population of 900,000 Mohammedan Arabs, of 100,000 Christians,

and of 400,000 Jews. The majority of the Jewish population came to Palestine after the war, and the numbers are increasing yearly as a result of the immigration policy of the British Government. The country is ruled autocratically by a High Commissioner appointed by the British Government, which has since December, 1934, been considering the provision of a sham Legislative Council, to be composed of twenty-eight members, divided as follows:

	Elected	*Nominated*	*Official*
Mohammedans	8	3	—
Jews	3	4	—
Christians	1	2	—
Commercial	—	2	—
Officials	—	—	5

This is not short of a constitutional masterpiece. Out of twenty-eight members sixteen will be nominated by the High Commissioner and only twelve will be elected; and the constitution is also designed to allow by playing off one community against another, the Government a permanent vote of seventeen against the combined Arabs and of twenty-two against the Jews. Furthermore, in order that no precaution should be omitted, the High Commissioner will have powers to ignore the Legislature altogether and to pass laws at his own discretion, and the scope of discussion will be rigorously limited to exclude debates on the Mandate, on British imperial policy, and on finance. Nor will the Legislature be allowed to become a platform for the expression of anti-British sentiments. Mr. J. H. Thomas, before the alleged leak, made this perfectly clear in the House of Commons:

> "With regard to the suggestion that the Legislative Council would be used as a platform for seditious propaganda, he could assure the House that steps would be taken to safeguard that. It would be illegal for any newspaper to print or publish any seditious utterances, although made in the Legislative Assembly.
>
> MR. CHURCHILL: It is the new Liberalism. (Laughter)."
>
> (*Times*. April 25th, 1936.)

As might be expected such a mockery of a constitution has satisfied no one except the imperialist Government: the pro-imperialist Zionist movement considers that there would be too many Arabs elected, and the Arab peoples regard the proposals as an affront to the national intelligence. This attempt to frustrate the Palestinian demand for national independence was one of the causes of the political upheaval in Palestine which is now taking place.

Although in recent years there has been, owing to the export of capital, considerable commercial development in Palestine, agriculture remains the chief industry and of this the cultivation of citrus fruits is the most important. During 1935 Palestine exported to England over 3,000,000 cwt. of oranges and grapefruit, to the value of over £2,000,000, and this amount is likely to increase in future years in proportion to the large number of new citrus groves now being started. In addition to citrus fruit the cultivation

of sesame, barley, tomatoes, olives, and tobacco is making rapid progress. Apart from agriculture there is the great chemical industry by the Dead Sea. The chemical content of the Dead Sea land has been estimated by Sir Herbert Samuel to be worth £800,000,000, but this would appear to be an under-estimation as the Dead Sea is now thought to be an inexhaustible mineral reservoir. It already yields one-tenth of the world's production of pure potash, which it exports to England, Holland, Italy, Australia, India, Canada, Ceylon and Japan, and the industry is only at the beginning of its development. About three-quarters of the bromide consumed in Britain comes from the Dead Sea Potash Company, which is controlled by the Imperial Chemical Industries.

The large and handy production of potash fertiliser does not, however, improve the economic conditions of the Arab peasantry. Agricultural land falls into one of the following five main categories:

1. *Mulk.* This corresponds to the English freehold, absolute ownership resting in the private individual. But the amount of agricultural land held as *Mulk* is negligible.
2. *Miri.* Private occupation or tenure of land granted by the Government, which retains the absolute ownership.
3. *Waqf.* Land donated to God (i.e., the priests) for charitable and religious purposes.
4. *Metruke.* Land left for roads or assigned as common land. Such land cannot be sold by individuals.
5. *Mewat.* Waste land "at such a distance from the village site, that the voice of a man shouting there cannot be heard." This land is vested with the Government. Under the Turkish law peasants were allowed to cultivate *Mewat* without permission, but under British rule any person found doing so is prosecuted as a trespasser. The total area of *Mewat* has not yet been determined.

A common feature of the proprietary right in land is the prevalence of the system known as *Mesha'a.* Under this system the whole of the property of a village is held in common, each peasant owning a fractional share, but having no proprietary right over any parcel of land. Although excellent in principle, in the existing conditions this system does not work satisfactorily and is a constant source of complaint among the peasants. About 46 per cent. of the villages are under the *Mesha'a* system.

The great curse of agriculture in Palestine, as in India, is the existence of grasping *effendis* (landlords), many of them absentees, who live in idleness in the towns and abroad on the exorbitant rents drawn from the cultivators and the villages. In addition, many of them conduct a profitable sideline in money-lending: the landlord-moneylender lends the peasant money at high interest to enable the peasant to pay the rent of the moneylender-landlord. The Arab peasant has no occupancy right, holding his land on a yearly tenancy terminable by his landlord at will. In these circumstances the *effendi* is in the position of selling the land over the heads of his tenants, who are evicted at a moment's notice. The large influx of

Jewish immigrants, backed by the financial power of the Jewish Agency, naturally led to much speculation in land by the Arab *effendis,* who were only too anxious to sell their land to the immigrants at a substantial profit. The Government, faced with this position, has made two lukewarm attempts to check the enterprise of the *effendis* and to protect the tenancy of the peasantry by, first, the Land Transfer Ordinance of 1920-21 and, secondly, by the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance of 1929. The dismal lack of success of the latter is recorded in the Simpson Report (1930):

> "This Ordinance is of little value in preventing the displacement of tenants from the soil . . . . at its best, the ordinance would only provide money compensation, while what is eminently required is, not compensation for disturbance, but a provision against disturbance."

In these conditions, crushed by landlord and moneylender, oppressed by Government taxes, faced with the well-capitalised Jewish competition, and with the prospect of at any moment being deprived of their land, the position of the Arab peasants is desperate. The Director of Education in Palestine describes this position as follows:

> "The economic state of the agricultural population is desperate. Hardly any Arab village exists which is not in debt. The *fellahin* are so over-taxed that they find great difficulty in paying the tithe. Moreover, after an excellent harvest, they are unable to sell their corn or barley or oil. . . . Money is so scarce in some places that the people purchase the necessities of life by barter, and they cannot pay the tithe without further borrowing. This means increasing their already overwhelming debt to the money-lender. . . . 'We have been struggling in deep water for several years, and very soon the water will close over our heads' was the statement made in one village, which may be taken as typical of the state of mind in every village. . . ."
>
> (*Simpson Report. Page* 65.)

The condition of the Arab workers is not much better in the towns. The monopoly of industrial undertakings by British and Zionist capitalists, the Zionist principle of employing only Jewish labour, the great increase in the number of immigrants, and the constant influx into the towns of the peasants driven off the land have led to considerable Arab unemployment. The withdrawal of bank deposits and the restriction of credit, the results of the Italo-Abyssinian war, have also led to the slowing down of industry and to a growing unemployment among Jewish workers. In 1935 strikes were frequent, both by Arab and Jewish workers.

The growing commercial importance of Palestine is shown by the rapid development of the coast towns into harbours.

The old port of Jaffa is being gradually superseded by the new all-Jewish town of Tel-Aviv. But the most important port is Haifa, where the pipeline for Mossul oil from Iraq terminates. On Haifa the *Manchester Guardian* writes:

> "In 1930 the total tonnage using the harbour was 1,300,000. In 1934 it was just on 3,500,000; and the figures are steadily rising.

> Haifa has already far out-distanced the older port of Beirut, and with the completion of the oil pipeline, and the construction, now proceeding, of a separate port for tankers, which will carry the oil from the most prolific field in the world, it is likely that Haifa will, within a short time, be the rival of Alexandria. . . . Haifa is more than the principal port of Palestine; *it is a nodal point in the Middle East. . . .*"
>
> (*Manchester Guardian, April 27th,* 1936.)

Haifa is the strategic point in the Middle East: Palestine is one of the vital areas of the Mediterranean. *Palestine is situated on the lifeline of the British Empire; it is the bridge between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, the strategic key to the whole of the Near and Middle East.* The point is stressed by every organ of imperialist propaganda. The imperialist politician, Amery, writes on Palestine in his recent book, *The Forward View*:

> "This whole region forms a single political and strategic problem, perhaps the most important of any to which our policy can direct itself in the near future. The key position of the whole of the region is Palestine, which covers the Suez Canal from the north and from which start the air route and future railway route from the Mediterranean to India . . . it is within this zone . . . that an ever-increasing proportion of our first line Air Force should be stationed. *Palestine is the strategical air centre of our Empire defence.*"

To which the Zionist bulletin, *Palestine,* adds: "The value of Haifa to the system of Imperial defence will not be solely in its future use as a naval base. It is destined to be the great airport of the East." A single glance at the map will confirm this view.

From the point of view of British imperialism the control of the whole of Arabia is essential. It dominates the eastern Mediterranean, the Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea from the fortified naval base of Akaba to the stronghold of Aden. To control the whole of Arabia is to control the highway to India; and, therefore, British imperialism has divided the Arab lands among a number of puppet kings, all subsidised from London. Except for the French mandate over Syria, Britain has hitherto succeeded in preventing other imperialist powers from penetrating this area; and Italy's desperate attempt at the beginning of 1934 to gain a foothold in Yemen was frustrated by a prompt declaration of war on the Emir of Yemen by Ibn Saud, the pro-British King of Hedjaz. But, while Britain can entrust her interests to her subsidised satraps in the greater part of Arabia, Palestine is strategically too important to be directly administered by any other except the British Government.

The primary purpose, therefore, of British capitalism in Palestine is strategic.

The British Betrayal of the Arabs

PALESTINE UNDER TURKISH RULE.

Historically speaking, Palestine has no justification for existing as a separate country. By race, language, culture, tradition and

economy, Palestine is an integral part of the Arab lands wrenched from the parent body to suit the purposes of British imperialism. Under Turkish rule Palestine was only a part of an administrative area, which included Syria (now under a French mandate), Transjordania (now British mandated territory "administered" by the British puppet, the Emir Abdullah), and the Arab State of Nejd. The Turks absorbed this area by conquest in 1516, and ruled uninterruptedly, except for the conquest by the rebellious Mehemet Ali, Governor of Egypt, in 1831, until the occupation by General Allenby in 1917-18. During the last forty years of Turkish rule there was a steady increase of Jewish immigration, largely financed by the Rothschilds, and in 1913 there were approximately 60,000 Palestinian Jews working on the land and in the towns in perfect harmony with the Arabs.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Turkey was already a decadent power, and her extensive empire was misruled at home by the Sultan and in the colonies by avaricious and semi-independent governors. The weakness of the Ottoman Empire was a matter of great interest to the rising industrial powers of Europe, and England was quick to realise the importance of the Arab territories, and of Syria in particular. With the conquest of India practically completed, British capitalism was determined to guard the route to her greatest possession through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Even in the days of Castlereagh, British foreign policy was mainly directed against the Russian and French encroachments on the Ottoman Empire. The protection of Turkey became a basic principle of British policy. With the succeeding years the imperialist rivalry became intense. The French supported the rebellious Governor of Egypt, Mehemet Pasha, and the Russians wrested from a terrified Sultan the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which only Russian warships were allowed in the Black Sea. In 1831 the French puppet, Mehemet Ali, conquered Syria, to the annoyance of the Czar, the Sultan, and Lord Palmerston. The British Foreign Minister declaring that "if Mehemet Ali would not yield he must be chucked into the Nile, because it was England's interest that the Sultan should retake Syria and Egypt," despatched a fleet to bombard Beirut and agents to foment rebellion. France threatened war, Napier bombarded Alexandria, Palmerston had his way, and Mehemet was kicked out of Syria, but was allowed to continue to govern Egypt. The result was that the Ottoman Empire fell under the joint protection of Britain, Russia, and France. As usual, the three protectors conspired against each other and plotted war. In 1850 Austria began to move East, and after Palmerston had denounced Austrian atrocities in Hungary and the Austrian Minister had condemned British atrocities in Ireland, the former again despatched the British fleet to defend Turkey. In 1854 war actually broke out when Russia moved her troops into the Danubian provinces

and threatened the Dardanelles. Britain and France shelved their differences in the face of the common enemy and united to defeat Russia in the Crimean War. The tripartite rivalry, however, continued until the common fear of German imperialism drove the three powers into an alliance. The dangerous situation which followed the treaty of San Stefano, by which Russia became predominant in Turkey, and the scramble for the Suez Canal and for Egypt, were all the result of the same rivalry for the control of the highroad to India and the East.

ANGLO-GERMAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

German imperialism emerged after the Franco-Prussian War, during which England, like America in 1914, was "too holy to fight," but at the same time, as Morier pointed out, was "rubbing its hands at the roaring trade it was driving in cartridges and ammunition." At this time British capitalism had little idea of the menace German imperialism was soon to be to British imperial interests in the East. But they were soon to be awakened. After the Conference of Berlin in 1884, Germany had become already a colonial power, being able to boast that "the large pudding of Africa was dotted with German peppercorns." Later, the British occupation of Egypt, which antagonised Turkey, gave Germany her opportunity, and she began to pour capital into Turkey until she was the predominant influence there. In 1898 the Kaiser Wilhelm was encouraged to pay a state visit to Turkey and to Palestine, then a part of the Turkish province of Syria. His visit began discreetly enough:

> "At Jerusalem he figured as the Christian knight errant, but at Damascus as the champion of the Moslem creed."
> (Holland Rose. *Development of the European Nations.*)

But his temperament got the better of him and, with the lack of tact for which he became famous, he announced himself at Damascus the friend and protector of "three hundred million Mussulmans scattered over the earth," when there was not a single Mussulman who was a subject of the Kaiser, but when there were millions of Moslems subject to British and French capitalism. The visit was, however, a great success, and German imperialism looked forward to a German Suez Canal and the absorption of the whole Ottoman Empire. The main concession to Germany was the right to construct a railway from Berlin to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, with economic and political rights along the route. As a preliminary, Germany constructed a railway "to take pilgrims to Mecca," but it was really intended as a means to fill Mesopotamia with thousands of Prussian peasants, a ready-made army within striking distance of India. "If one can speak of boundless prospects anywhere," said von Bulow, "it is in Mesopotamia." It was precisely these boundless prospects which threw Britain, France, and Russia

into a panic. When the Berlin-Baghdad Railway concession was finally confirmed in 1903, the war which broke out in 1914 had already been decided upon.

LAWRENCE OF ARABIA.

In the early stages of the war the Arabs showed no sympathy with the Allied cause. But Egypt, although technically Turkish, was occupied by British troops and ruled by a British High Commissioner. At the time Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany, Britain had declared a protectorate over Egypt. The British High Commissioner was Sir Henry McMahon, who was at the head of a nest of British agents at Alexandria. McMahon at once got into touch with certain of the Arab chieftains, whom he tried to convince that Britain had entered the war mainly to liberate the Arabs from the age-long oppression of Turkey. The Arabs hardly believed this, but they listened with interest to the British proposal to establish a large independent Arab State. On July 14th, 1915, an agreement was finally reached between McMahon and the Sherif Husain of Mecca, the text of which is given hereunder:

THE HUSAIN-McMAHON AGREEMENT.

The Sherif to Sir Henry McMahon on 14th July, 1915:

Whereas the whole of Arab nation without any exception has decided in these last years to live, and to accomplish their freedom and grasp the reins of their administration both in theory and practice . . . for these reasons the Arab nation sees fit to limit itself, as time is short, to asking the Government of Great Britain, if it should think fit, for the approval through its deputy or representative of the following fundamental propositions . . . until such time as it finds occasion for making the actual negotiations:—

Firstly, Great Britain will acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries, in every sense of the word independence, to be bounded on the north by Mersina-Adana up to the 37th degree of latitude, on which degree falls Biridjik, Ourta, Mardin, Madiat, Amadia Island, up to the borders of Persia. On the east by the Frontiers of Persia up to the gulf of Basra. On the south by the Indian Ocean, with the exception of the colony of Aden, which is excepted from the boundaries. On the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina.

Sir Henry McMahon to the Sherif on October 25th:

. . . It is with great pleasure that I communicate to you on their behalf the following statement which I am confident you will receive with satisfaction:

" 1. The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the District of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab and should therefore be excluded from the desired boundaries.

" 2. With these modifications, and without prejudice to certain treaties enacted between ourselves and some Arabian chiefs, we accept these boundaries.

" And as regards those portions of the territories therein in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interest of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of

Great Britain to enter into the following covenant (*the Arabic word is Mawathik*) and reply to your letter as under:

"1. Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Shereef of Mecca.

"2. Great Britain guarantees the safety of the Holy Places against any foreign aggression and will recognise their individuality.

"3. When the situation admits, Great Britain will give the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of Government in these various territories."

The British had thus pledged themselves to establish a new Arab State, which would comprise nearly the whole of Arabia, and certainly of Palestine and Syria. The following year the British signed a secret agreement with France (known as the Sykes-Picot agreement) dividing up the Arab lands between them; but the Arabs then knew nothing about that.

The McMahon-Husain agreement having been reached, Colonel Lawrence, a student of Arabic and an agent of British imperialism, was sent to Palestine from Alexandria, loaded with gold and promises, to stir up the Arabs to rebellion and to organise guerrilla warfare against the Turk. Lawrence did his work very well. For more than two years he masqueraded with fair success as an Arab, and was lavish with promises and with gold. To aid him in his task, British aeroplanes flew over Palestine dropping leaflets, signed in the name of the British Army, which stated that the sole desire of the British Government was "to preserve the edicts of the Holy Moslem religion from being altered" and "to liberate the Arabs." One of these leaflets ran as follows:

> "Come and join us who are labouring for the sake of the religion and the freedom of the Arabs, so that the Arab kingdom may again become what it was during the time of your fathers if God wills. God is the leader to the right path."

The simple Arabs could not resist this appeal. They rallied to Lawrence and carried on a heroic fight against the Turko-German armies and prepared the way, in 1917, for the capture of Jerusalem by General Allenby. Only then were the Arabs to discover that God had, after all, led them on the wrong path.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

When the Turkish armies had been crushed and Palestine had been occupied with British troops there was no longer any need to bother about the susceptibilities of the Arabs. It was now much more necessary to win over the Jews, and particularly the big Jewish financiers of America, to the Allied cause. The British Government, therefore, on November 2nd, 1917, issued with incredible cynicism a declaration, now known after the name of the then Foreign Secretary as the Balfour Declaration. This declaration is in the following terms:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons, said:

"But look at the conditions under which we entered into it. It was one of the darkest periods of the War when Mr. Balfour prepared his Declaration. Let me recall the circumstances to the House. At the time the French army had mutinied, the Italian army was on the eve of collapse and America had hardly started preparing in earnest. There was nothing left but Britain confronting the most powerful military combination the world has ever seen. It was important for us to seek every legitimate help we could get. We came to the conclusion, from information we received from every part of the world, that it was vital we should have the sympathies of the Jewish community."

(*Hansard, June 19th,* 1936, *col.* 1343.)

Zionism throughout the world rejoiced. Jews flocked to the British colours; enthusiasm swept America and money poured into the British Treasury; only the Arabs were puzzled and alarmed.

The Balfour Declaration was so successful that even the British Government became enthusiastic. It was endorsed by the Allied Governments, re-affirmed at the Conference of San Remo in 1920, and then embodied in the preamble of the Mandate for Palestine, granted by the Council of the League of Nations to Britain on July 24th, 1922.

Palestine was not, after all, to become part of an independent Arab State; in fact, there was to be no independent Arab State. Palestine was to become a National Home for the Jews, and the Arabs were to be like the Gibeonites in the Bible, "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Colonel Lawrence went into hiding to write his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom.* He had good reason to hide.

A Home for Jews or for Bombers

IMPERIALISM AND THE JEWS.

The immediate objective of the Balfour Declaration was to gain the support of world Jewry for the Allies in the war against Germany. But with the defeat of Germany this support was no longer urgently necessary, and there seemed no reason why the British Government should not add one more broken promise to its record. The Balfour Declaration is a tricky document, which left the way open for such a retreat. The Zionists had regarded the declaration of "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people" as meaning that the Jews were to have Palestine as a National Home. Palestine was to become in the words of the Zionist leader, Weizmann, "as Jewish as England

is English." The British Government, however, thought it time to damp this enthusiasm in view of the wide-spread Arab unrest, and in June, 1922, Churchill issued a White Paper reminding the Zionists that "the terms of the declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be founded *in Palestine.*" According to this interpretation, the Jewish National Home was deteriorating into a rest home for Jews.

The demands of imperial strategy, and the fear of the growth of an independent Arab State strong enough to endanger imperial communications and economic interests, induced imperialism, however, to revert to the Jewish interpretation. France had been given a Mandate for Syria and was busy blowing Damascus to pieces, and the rest of Arabia, except Palestine, had been divided into a number of small states with puppet rulers "protected" by Britain. Palestine, however, holding the key position in the Middle East, had to be more securely protected against the possibility of an independent Arab State. Zionism provided the solution. Palestine was to be flooded with patriotic Jews, depending on British protection against the resentful Arabs. The Zionist bulletin, *Palestine,* writing from the imperialist standpoint, puts the position very neatly:

> "Without Jews, Palestine is only a part of Syria. The existence in Palestine of a nation intensely patriotic and progressive is necessary to the military argument. Without the Jews Palestine would be a heavy responsibility; they double and treble the value of the asset. If there were no Zionism British policy might well have wanted even on purely military ground, to invent it, and, in doing so, we should have followed the precedent of Cyrus, Cæsar and Napoleon."
>
> (*June 10th,* 1936.)

The same note is struck by the British foreign expert, Augur, writing in the *New York Times* on January 19th, 1936:

> "Britain governs the country and the Jewish population represents an element which can supply a guarantee of safety for the establishment of the air force. *In the sea of the native population of Arabia the Palestinian Jews stand isolated, an outpost of Europe, and, if rightly handled, an element of strength for the empire.* . . . Already the possibility is seen that the Jewish population will provide the physical force sufficient not only for its own protection but also for the defence of the Palestinian citadel against any foreseeable attack from outside. *Military experts say a Jewish militia of* 50,000 *men may be a reality to-morrow.*"

Finally, let us hear Lord Melchett, the heir of the founder of the Imperial Chemical Industries:

> "The advantages of this (Jewish National Home) to the British Empire are obvious. The points at issue are no less than the defence of the Suez Canal, of air stations essential to Imperial communications, and the outlet of the oil pipe line in Haifa; and the harbour at Haifa (and later the harbour which is necessary at Tel-Aviv) have become vital to our naval strategy in the Mediterranean. The security of this complex of Imperial interests can be better assured by a large European population than by the few battalions that can be spared."
>
> (*Letter in the Daily Telegraph, June 14th,* 1936.)

ZIONISM AS A WILLING PAWN.

Once the British Government had made it clear what their intentions were in Palestine, the Zionist leaders not only proclaimed their joy at being used as the instruments of imperialist policy, but also got busy in organising systematic immigration. At the end of 1918 there were approximately 60,000 Jews in Palestine. During the period from 1918 to 1928 101,400 Jews entered Palestine, but in the same period 26,007 Jews emigrated from the country, not liking the conditions which they found there. From 1930 to 1932 the total Jewish immigration was 23,821, only 2,345 Jews emigrating. The advent of Hitler and the terror in Germany provided the imperialist Zionists with an abundance of raw material, and in the guise of charity the Zionist leaders exported the refugees from Germany to Palestine, where they are expected to guard the interests of British imperialism. In 1933 the volume of Jewish immigration was 30,327; in 1934 it had reached 42,359; and in 1935 it broke all records at 61,854. The Jewish refugees from Germany are excellent material for the imperialists and the Zionists, since they have no hope of returning to Germany, and suffer under the disabilities of foreigners elsewhere. Once settled in Palestine they are entirely dependent upon the benevolent protection of British imperialism. For these reasons imperialism and its Zionist agents do not propose to relax their efforts until the whole Jewish population of Germany is settled in Palestine. At a meeting held at the London School of Economics by the League of Nations Union on May 22nd, 1936, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader, announced:

> ". . . the Jewish community had come to the conclusion that the only rational solution of the problem of the systematic and refined persecution in Germany is a systematic evacuation. Over four hundred thousand Jews still remain in Germany. Of all countries Palestine had been found to be most capable of absorbing the German emigrants. . . ."

Dr. Weizmann made other interesting announcements on the subject of using German Jews to establish the Jewish National Home:

> "After arrival young immigrants were given a period of training in special camps, and 10,000 had been absorbed into agricultural pursuits in the last three years. . . . Another type of immigration undertaken at the request of German-Jewish parents had been the settling of 1,000 children in Palestine without their families and at a cost of £125 per child. Not only was a material structure being erected in Palestine but a Hebrew civilisation."
>
> (*Manchester Guardian,* 23/5/36.)

In this policy of British imperialism, which is in the interests of German capitalism, Hitler himself is prepared to co-operate. In November, 1933, the Haavara (Transfer) Company was established to overcome the difficulties to the Jewish emigrant of the German foreign currency regulations. The Haavara Company, a subsidiary of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, has come to an arrangement with Germany by which German Jews are allowed to transmit their capital

to Palestine through the medium of the Haavara in the form of German goods. The scheme works as follows:

> "The Jews immigrating from Germany transfer their capital to the 'Haavara's' account in the Reichsbank in Berlin. The 'Haavara' sells the Marks which it has to credit to Palestinian importers, who pay with this money for the goods bought by them in Germany. The equivalent of the amounts paid by the importers in Palestinian currency remains in Palestine, where it is credited by the 'Haavara' to its clients the German immigrants."

In this way Jewish immigration into Palestine is facilitated, and German Fascism finds a profitable market for its goods which provides it with foreign currency to provide war material.

It is estimated that during the year 1935 the sum of £10,000,000 of Jewish capital was invested in Palestine. In 1923 the British Government granted the Rutenberg concession, which handed over to a group of capitalists, including those enthusiastic Zionists the late Marquis of Reading and Lord Melchett, the development of hydro-electrical power from the Jordan; and in 1929 a concession was granted to Mr. Novomeyski and Major Tulloch, acting on behalf of the Palestine Potash Company, for the monopoly of the mineral salts of the Dead Sea. The towns are rapidly becoming the strongholds of Jewish capitalism. The Jews already constitute the majority of the population of Jerusalem, and Tel-Aviv, from a small suburb of Jaffa, has developed into a large town of 150,000 Jewish inhabitants, dwarfing the Arab port of Jaffa and demanding to supersede it.

THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON THE ARABS.

British imperialism, in its anxiety to promote a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, ignored the fact that Palestine was already the national home of the Arabs. The formation and upkeep of the Jewish "National Home" is entrusted to a body called the Jewish Agency, which by means of its Zionist subsidiaries, the Keren-Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund), the Keren-Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) and the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association, organises the immigration and buys land from the Arab landlords. The Arab landlords, in order to sell the land at a profit to the Jewish Agency, are compelled to evict the Arab peasants from the soil which they and their forefathers have tilled for 1,500 years. The peasants once evicted the Agency then settles Jewish farmers and fruit-growers in their place. The Jewish settlers are then expected to pay back to the Keren-Hayesod the cost of settlement and to pay to the Karen-Kayemeth an economic rent. But the Zionist colonisation scheme is designed to prevent the Jewish peasant becoming independent:

> "The system adopted by the Colonisation Department of the Zionist organisation is immensely costly; it demands very little from the settler himself. Indeed, however hard a settler may work, and however desirous he may be to pay back sums that the Fund

expended on him, by no possibility can he arrive at that result. The debt which he owes cannot be repaid by an effort on his part."

(*Simpson Report,* 1930.)

Under this scheme the Jewish peasant is condemned to perpetual servitude to the Zionist Associations; in other words, to British imperialism.

The Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was signed at Zurich on August 14th, 1929. Among its provisions were the following:

> "Land is to be acquired as Jewish property . . . the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people."

The leases of holdings granted by the Jewish National Fund (Keren-Kayemeth) provide that the holding shall never be held by any but a Jew, and if the holder should leave the property to a non-Jew the Fund obtains the right to restitution. Furthermore, all Jewish settlers are compelled by the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren-Hayesod) to agree that they will never, in any circumstances, employ non-Jewish labour. The lessee who hires Arab labour is punished with a fine of £P.10 for each default.

The Arab peasant, therefore, is not only driven off the land by a combination of the greedy *effendi* and the Jewish Agency, but he is prevented from earning his living as a farm labourer on the land which was formerly his. Here it is worth noting that the Jewish Agency and the Arab *effendis* strongly protested against the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance of 1929.

The same situation prevails in the towns. Zionist business firms and industries are displacing Arab workers by Jewish immigrants. In 1930 it was estimated in the Simpson Report that 35,000 Arabs were unemployed:

> "For this unemployment there are several causes. Motor transport, largely in the hands of the Jews, is driving the camel and donkey off the roads, and with them the Arab camel-driver and the Arab donkey-man. The motor-car, again largely owned and driven by Jews, is displacing the horse-drawn vehicle and its Arab driver. The increased use of cement, reinforced concrete and silicate brick, all manufactured by Jews, is replacing dressed stone for constructional purposes, and so displacing a large number of stone-dressers and stone-masons, nearly all of whom are Arabs. The Arab quarrymen are also being displaced."

(*Simpson Report. Page* 133).

At the same time Jewish capitalism has no intention of employing Jewish labour unprofitably. In the crisis of 1929-32 nearly 10,000 Jews were thrown out of work, and the subsequent increase in immigration and the crisis caused by the Italo-Abyssinian war have done nothing to relieve but to increase this unemployment.

The policy of British imperialism and its allies, the Arab *effendis* and Zionist capitalists, has not only caused general economic distress and misery throughout Palestine, but has promoted an economic and

political conflict between races. The Arab peasants are being gradually deprived of their land and of the opportunity even to sell their labour power, and are faced with starvation. The imperialist-Zionist-*effendi* policy has created a large landless and workless Arab proletariat, which feels that it is in danger either of being driven out of Palestine altogether or of being reduced to the status of the American Indians or of the Australian bushmen. Their fears are not allayed by the brutally frank policy of the Jewish Agency or by the statements of Jabotinsky, the former colleague of the pogromist, Petlura, and the leader of the Zionist Revisionist Fascists:

> "We Jews are the chosen people. And even if Arabs and Englishmen join together, in order to rob the Jews of their right to Palestine, we will seize Palestine with the sword in the hand."
>
> (*Karl Franz. Palestina. Unsere Zeit.* 1/6/36.)

And Jabotinsky is outdone by the leaders of the Zionist Labour Unions (Hestadruth):

> "Jabotinsky boasts that he wants a bigger Erez Israel. He wants an Erez Israel on both sides of the Jordan. But the labour party through its wonderful leader, Ben Gurion, made it clear that Transjordania is not sufficient, *we must also have the neighbouring countries for millions of Jews.* But whereas Jabotinsky loves to operate with exclamations the labour party wants to secure it all through actual up-building."
>
> (*Interview with Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the American Zionist Association in the Jewish Morning Journal, Oct. 3rd,* 1935.)

Zionism has hopes of a Jewish capitalist empire in the Arab territories, which probably exceeds the intentions of British imperialism.

ARAB REBELLIONS.

The pro-Zionist propagandist, Mrs. E. Dugdale, has been filling the British newspapers with her account of the causes of the present and past disturbances in Palestine. All these risings of the Arabs she attributes to "the blind, ignorant lust for destruction, which the desert breeds." The lady is not only extremely foolish in blaming the desert, she also betrays a painful ignorance of the conditions in Palestine. Arabs and Jews, who lived so peacefully together before the British occupation, are now at each other's throats. The whole period of British rule has been distinguished by seemingly racial conflicts and Arab uprisings: in 1920, 1921, 1925, 1929 (the Wailing Wall dispute), in 1933, and now in 1936, with the great Arab general strike. But these conflicts are not fundamentally racial: they are economic and political rebellions against the policy of imperialism, which has brought misery and suffering to the country. The Zionists are avowed imperialist agents, who are openly declaring their intention of displacing the Arab population entirely, and whose actions have deprived thousands of Arab cultivators of their land and means of living. The impoverished Jewish settlers and the Jewish workers throughout the world are as exploited and oppressed as the Arab peasants; but as long as the Jewish workers and

peasants allow the Zionist agents of imperialism to speak in the name of all the Jews, the Arabs will believe that all Jews are Zionists. Nothing could be further from the truth or more dangerous. *The interests of Zionism run counter to the interests of the Jewish people.* Weizmann, Ben Gurion, Lipsky, Melchett, Samuel, and others wish to exploit the Jewish people, to use them as tools to oppress the Arabs struggling for their national freedom, and to hand them over as cannon fodder to British imperialism. The Jewish workers must loose no time in repudiating the actions of the Zionist leaders, who have the insolence to speak in the name of world Jewry. They must classify them with the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, and the Baldwins.

The Solution of the Jewish Question in the Soviet Union

The Jewish problem cannot be solved by a so-called Jewish Home initiated and maintained by imperialist forces. It cannot be solved by the establishment of another small capitalist state governed by all the narrow capitalist ideology, which breeds within that state all the reactionary tendencies of capitalist nationalism. Internationalism must displace nationalism, and the Soviet Union is the only country which has successfully solved the "Jewish Question." During the Civil War in 1919 Lenin, the greatest internationalist and authority on the national question, stated: *"It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the toilers. The enemies of the workers are the capitalists of all lands. Among the Jews there are workers, toilers; they are in the majority. They are our brothers, comrades in the struggle for socialism, because they are oppressed by capitalism. Among the Jews there are kulaks, exploiters, capitalists, just like among us all.*

"The capitalists are tireless in their endeavours to stir up enmity between the workers of different faiths, different nations and different races. The rich Jews, just like the rich Russians and the rich of all countries, are united in trampling upon, oppressing and dividing the workers.

"Disgrace and infamy to the damnable Tsarism which tortured and persecuted the Jews! Disgrace and infamy to whoever sows enmity against Jews and hatred against other nations! Long live brotherly faith and unity in the struggle of all nations for the overthrow of capitalism." With such an understanding the "Jewish Question" presented no difficulties to the Soviet Union.

The Jews in Tsarist Russia were, as is well known, entirely without rights, persons of the second class. They could not be free colonists, they were not allowed to be active in the factories or State institutions, they could only dwell together in special ghetto regions and could only attain a livelihood as small traders, beggars or miserable handworkers, and they were frequently beaten-up and attacked by means of pogroms.

Worst of all was the period between 1918 and 1919 after the world war. Some 2,500 pogroms were conducted against them by Petlura and the White Guards. About 200,000 Jews were killed in these pogroms, and the result was 300,000 orphans and 700,000 persons economically ruined. More than this, those that were left were faced with the completely changed economic conditions resulting from the victory of Bolshevism. Petty trade and begging was frowned upon.

Then the new Government of the U.S.S.R., with its strong arm, came to their assistance. It recognised that in their own interests, as in the interests of the Jews as a whole, only one course could be taken, namely, to help the Jews to productive activity as agricultural workers or industrial workers.

Before 1929 more than 200,000 Jews, approximately 16,000 families, were settled on some 650,000 hectares of land as agricultural workers, with equal political and economic rights. Most of these were in White Russia, Ukraine, Caucasus, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan.

For 1930-31 the Five-Year Plan proposed further settlements of 15,500 Jewish families as agricultural colonists. Of these 10,000 are for the Northern Crimea, 1,500 for smaller regions in Russia, and 4,000 for Birobidjan. At the same time it should be noticed that arrangements were made to place 400,000 workers in industry. Jews were accepted into the railway schools, thousands of Jews from White Russia were absorbed by the tractor factory in Stalingrad, and thousands of places in the technical schools of the factories have been reserved for Jews. In the Donetz basin alone 10,000 unskilled Jewish workers have been introduced. Anti-Semitism, which was previously strong among the Russian people, has now practically vanished owing to joint work with the Jewish workers. The Government has exerted a special influence in this direction. The peasant neighbours of the Jewish colonists have completely changed their attitude and stand in the friendliest relations with the new colonists.

Since, however, the various colonies already embarked upon are not sufficient to absorb all the Jews pressing for work, and since during the first Five-Year Plan it was intended to settle something like 60,000 Jewish families, the "Komset" (Yiddish Committee for Agriculture) in 1918, after much investigation, decided to request the All-Russian Executive Committee to give the territory called "Birobidjan" in the Far East as a colonisation region for Jewish settlers. Birobidjan lies on the Amur river, one of the biggest rivers in the world, which forms the southern Manchurian boundary of the region in question. Between the two tributary rivers of Biro and Bidjan (hence the name "Birobidjan") lies the best country in the colonising area. In the west it stretches up to the town Blagowesensk, in the east up to Haborovsk and near to the harbour

of Nikolayevsk on the Sea of Okhotsk. In the north the region is traversed for 300 kilometres by the Great Siberian Railway, terminating in Vladivostock.

Birobidjan has an area of 39,000 square kilometres, *i.e.,* it is twice as large as the whole of Palestine, larger than the Crimea, and was almost unpopulated. The population was about one person to the square kilometre. The greater part of the territory in the south was excellent plain land with high grass, particularly suitable for agriculture and cattle raising. The soil can be immediately and easily cultivated. Each settler is given free at least sixty acres, so that he can from the beginning begin cultivation on an economic basis. The most suitable crops are wheat, rye, rice, flax, soya bean, tobacco, hops, vines, vegetables, etc. The northern part of the region contains mountainous country and forests suitable for paper and match industries. Building wood is present in enormous quantities. In the ground are to be found iron, graphite, copper, anthracite, gold and other valuable minerals. The region continues into the little populated, but promising, Siberian Taiga, so that the country of Birobidjan can be easily enlarged. It is thought that some 50,000 to 100,000 families, *i.e.,* about a million people, can be immediately introduced as colonists and industrial workers. The rivers are rich in fish; the climate is good, rather like that of Canada.

The University of Vladivostock has already directly interested itself in the colony. There have been founded there faculties for agriculture, forestry, wood utilisation, mining and chemistry, also for teaching and natural science. Free places were reserved for Jewish students who undertake to work in Birobidjan.

During the past five years Birobidjan has, under the guidance of the Soviet Government, made rapid progress. All field work is now being performed by machine, a number of tractor stations and agricultural machinery depôts supplying the collective and state farms with all necessary machinery have been established.

In 1933 all these farms cultivated 30,000 "ga" of land, raising mostly wheat, oats, and soya bean. Considerable attention is being devoted to the draining of swamps, for which the Soviet Government has already spent 2,000,000 roubles.

Birobidjan is no longer a farming centre only. The Soviet Government is rapidly converting it into an industrial centre. In recent years huge saw-mills, lime works, building works, and other industrial shops have been opened and capitalised to the value of 8,000,000 roubles.

The Soviet Government solved the Jewish question by providing the Jewish people with vast tracts of sparsely populated but rich and productive land, with political and economic freedom. Birobidjan has already been declared an autonomous Jewish territory and stands

in contrast to the so-called Jewish Home in Palestine, where artificial friction, bloodshed, misery and want stare the majority of Jewish workers and dispossessed Arab peasants in the face.

* * * *

The disturbances in Palestine, Transjordania, Damascus, and Iraq are not due to the hostility of Islam to Jewry; they arise out of the struggle of the workers and peasants, Jewish and Arab, against world imperialism and Fascism. It has always been clear that there is no hostility between the Arab and the Jewish workers. The Arabs say that Jewish and Arab cultivators are like stones in the same wall—if one slips the wall collapses. It is the wealthy Jewish immigrants, embodying the Fascist spirit of the Zionist Congress, and the foreign administration fostering Jewish immigration, which stir the Arab masses into insurrection. It is the Palestine Potash Company, the Palestine Electric Corporation, under non-Arab direction, which give the Arabs the impression that their country is not intended to belong to them, that its wealth is being filched from them by foreign financiers in the interests of distant investors.

The Jewish settlers and workers in Palestine must, without loss of time, join with the Arab workers and peasants, the Jewish labour unions must be thrown open to Arab labour, immigration must be restricted according to the absorbing capacity of the country, the anti-Arab Land and Labour laws passed by the Zionists must be repealed, and the Jewish and Arab mass must go forward together as one man for the freedom of Palestine from British imperialism, and for the elimination of Arab *effendis* and Zionist capitalists.

Only in this way will Jews and Arabs be able to live in peace and prosperity in an independent state. Therefore we call upon the anti-imperialist fighters throughout the world to demand:

1. The abolition of the Mandates granted by the League of Nations, in order that the peoples may determine their own future.
2. Complete independence of all Arab peoples and the formation of a Federation of Arab States if desired.
3. A free Palestine based on the self-determination and unity of the Arab and Jewish workers and peasants.
4. Full political and trade union rights for Jewish and Arab workers and peasants.
5. Liberation of all political prisoners and repeal of the Emergency Decrees issued by General Wauchope.
6. Withdrawal of all British troops and officials from the Arab countries.

APPENDIX

LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers, the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the aforementioned Article 22 (paragraph 8) it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

ARTICLE 1.

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE 2.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ARTICLE 3.

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ARTICLE 4.

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such

agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ARTICLE 6.

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ARTICLE 7.

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ARTICLE 9.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ARTICLE 11.

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

ARTICLE 12.

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

ARTICLE 15.

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

ARTICLE 16.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ARTICLE 17.

The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ARTICLE 18.

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and Customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special Customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ARTICLE 19.

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

ARTICLE 22.

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ARTICLE 23.

The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

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